/641 cont./

836 849 877 The question of a possible illegitimate birth is related to this discussion. Children who have reached puberty are sufficiently enlightened on the subject of sex life (p. 200). After an instance of adultery, neither of the guilty parties, who probably always return to their lawful partners, thinks of the possible consequences of their meeting. As a rule, however, unmarried couples avoid intercourse before marriage, for the girls maintain a remarkably strict reserve, even toward bold youths. This union, however, may have occurred among young people who had already tacitly agreed to marry. In such a case they have been legitimately married long before the fruit of their mutual love appears. Hence there is actually no recognizable illegitimate birth among the Yamana (22).

669

22. This is not to deny sexual intercourse by strategy or force between European sailors or farmers and Indian women; the consequences are known far and wide. What the natives themselves thought and still think about this is only occasionally, but clearly enough expressed in the jealousy with which they guard their women and girls in the presence of strangers. See pages 336 and 353 /in untranslated portion of this work/.

834 The separation of children by sex at the time of puberty is intended chiefly to preserve their premarital chastity, as is expressed in clear instructions and warnings. Young people know very well that they are being watched, and although it is difficult for them to avoid the sharp eyes of adults, they sometimes succeed in doing so. On such occasions a bold lad will permit himself unseemly conduct with a girl. Such secrecy is seldom possible and is censured by every adult, in fact, seriously punished by the parents of the little culprits. There can be no question of sexual freedom for the Indian women. The Yamana are not familiar with any kind of ordeals of chastity. They demand decency of young people before marriage, just as they wish to insure freedom

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expressing himself, adultery is accompanied by "a certain public disrespect" /translated from French/. It is this general condemnation that guilty parties find particularly painful and degrading.

Our Indians hold female virtue in high esteem. In this connection we must not fail to mention that Hyades (q):230, 278 takes a very firm stand against the false reports by a few travelers about the prostitution of Indian women. "We have never seen a Fuegian man yield his wife or the one he loves to his best friends or even to the lure of large rewards. Many travelers believe that they have seen the opposite, but in the instances they have observed, the women and young girls were not by any means necessarily joined by love or even marriage to the savages who proposed to give them away. We will cite below a number of examples to prove our assertion" /translated from French/ (93). Not even the present relaxation of morals is approved by the true Yamana, and they accept many misdeeds silently only because they are powerless to do anything about it.

93. In Outes (g):10, also, it is clearly stated: "No individual sells his wife to another" /translated from Spanish/.

Sexual morality is quite generally esteemed, and this, naturally, also includes premarital chastity (p. 411). Children would not be permitted any kind of license nor would they attempt it; there is, generally speaking, no sexual freedom for the girl. Quite the contrary, many Europeans, to their unexpected surprise, came up against a strong, emphatic morality and modest reserve among the Fuegian women, whose body covering could hardly be imagined as scantier. In order to prevent lapses in this sphere, the adults see to it that boys and girls are separated from early youth until puberty, and they warn them ceaselessly with informative advice. It is entirely wrong to maintain, as Hyades (q):278 does, that "the young girls are free to conduct themselves as they please" /translated from French/. Even

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/936 cont./
136 147 parents who themselves often transgress against sexual morality are careful to give irreproachable guidance to their children.

Despite all vigilance, a certain amount of improper con-
136 duct among young people cannot be avoided, and some girls lose their physical innocence (94). The Yamana do not know the

> 94. On this subject Hyades (4):188 expresses himself thus: "In fact, the young girls of ten to 12 years whom we examined had already lost it. But this does not imply a precocious perversion on their part nor a great ardor for sexual relations" /translated from French/.

meaning of this in the European sense, and only with this restriction may we interpret Hyades' (5):1346 and (4):188 words: "There is no value placed /937/ on a young girl's virginity" /translated from French/ (95). A reserved, virtuous girl enjoys

> 95. Hahn (1):805 uses the same words and unjustifiably concludes from this: "Modesty is completely unknown among the Fuegians" /translated from French/. The secret mistakes of a few children, despite the various warnings and great vigilance of all adults, are no proof that modesty is lacking among all the people.

a good reputation; adults keep a particularly sharp eye on an impertinent young chap. Finally, a thoughtful boy will not
[937] readily offer his hand in marriage to a girl whose behavior is conspicuously bold, he lacks confidence in her fidelity later.

A few effective protective measures for special occasions
934 have been set up, apparently in order that neither of the two
937 sexes, despite their duty to render reciprocal aid, will run the risk of violating conjugal fidelity. These measures have to do with the exchange of gifts between a man and woman who are

836 ties. Intercourse between the unmarried was disapproved, but breaches of the code were not infrequent. Marriage between blood
582 relatives, however distant, was in theory taboo; in practice, the prohibition included half-siblings, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, first cousins, both parallel and cross, and seemingly extended somewhat beyond these limits. Since near relatives commonly lived near one another, marriages tended to be locally exogamous. Marriages with mates from far distant localities, especially outside one's own of the five dialectic groups, were disliked and infrequent. Marriage with a mother and her daughter was disapproved, but not so strongly as marriage with near blood-kin. Sponsors were barred from marrying their respective candidates of the čiéxaus[1] initiation rite.

584 Choice of mate was ordinarily free on the part both of the boy and of
583 the girl, and appears to have been based largely on mutual affection and regard. Gifts from the groom to the bride's father were given and expected, as were also certain services before and after marriage. But a bride-price as stipulated by or haggled for by the father was absent. Bride capture or stealing, if it occurred, must have been very rare.

582 Boys and girls did not marry until they had passed through the required čiéxaus initiation. Gusinde (1937, p. 633) estimates the more common chronological ages of first marriages as about 17 to 19 years for boys, and 15 to 16 for girls.

Monogamy was by far the most prevalent form of marriage. Polyandry did not occur. Polygyny was permitted, but was uncommon.
[595] A few men had two wives, more commonly sisters; cases of three wives,
587 if they occurred, must have been very rare. On the death of a man's wife, he had a certain marriage claim to her unmarried sister. On the death of a woman's husband, she frequently became, and under certain circumstances was expected or obliged to become, the wife of his oldest surviving brother, especially his unmarried brother, unless she married another man. This custom (the levirate) was, from the native point of view, primarily an obligation of the father's brother to be responsible for his nephews and nieces, a responsibility that lay on the uncle even though his brother's widow married another man. A surviving married brother was not entirely free to marry the widow, as his own wife might object.

585 The chief wedding rite consisted in painting the cheeks of the couple with three red parallel horizontal lines. These were worn and renewed for a week, during which time there were feasting and dancing,
591 and at the end of which the couple went off together in their own canoe. Customarily, they remained with the bride's people for a few months,

[1] *d* has the sound of English *th*, *š* of English *sh*.